

ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF EGYPT'S 2015 PARLIAMENT IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

Democracy and good governance are no longer a luxury; however, they are essential for sustainable development. Parliaments are the imperative foundations of democracy and good governance. Authorities and functions of parliament are ordinarily laid down in the constitution or in parliamentary by-laws of every state. For establishing and consolidating democracy and good governance, parliament is supposed to perform three major functions, sufficient representation, legislation, and oversight in a transparent and responsible manner. This research argues that, although Egypt's 2014 constitution laid down the roles and authorities of House of Representatives, after the first legislative session 2015/2016, Egyptians feel that it wasn't able to assume the laid down roles and hence appeared to be no more than a completion of the democratic form without realistically promoting democracy and good governance. The researcher uses a quantitative research method to clarify the argument.

KEYWORDS: *Democracy – Good Governance – Constitution - Parliament Authorities- Representativeness- Legislation- Oversight- Parliament Transparency- Parliament Accountability*

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INTRODUCTION

In the execution of their key roles of legislation, Representation and oversight parliaments can effectively take part in the enactment, development and implementation of laws, arrangements and practices that endorse and consolidate democracy and good governance. Nowadays, pursuance of good governance in developing countries doesn't only depend on the executive authorities and civil society organizations; but also extends to include parliaments as well. Empowering parliaments to perform all their due functions adequately and efficiently is a challenge, yet it is a challenge which merits taking. The Democratization process, well established and consolidated in the developed countries, requires a lot of efforts to start in the developing countries. Good governance needs to be established and consolidated for the democratization process to take place. The components of good governance could be identified as follows, well established and democratic institutions, effective and transparent laws and regulations, clear and democratization and development oriented policies and efficient decision making and implementation processes.

The parliament or legislature assumes an essential role in building and consolidating good governance. In this way, it performs three principle duties: a) speak to and express the perspectives and wishes of the subjects in basic leadership procedures b) make new laws, change existing laws and cancel laws which are not required anymore; and c) regulate the exercises of the official so that the administration is responsible to the general population. Accomplishing good governance requires the presence of a solid, successful and proficient parliament.

This is so since parliament assumes a pivotal part in gaging, grouping and showing the perspectives and requirements of the general population, articulating their desires and goals in deciding the national development plan. The oversight or supervisory responsibility allows the parliament to recognize issues and challenges that require consideration and helps with beating impeding bureaucracy.

Before the 25th of January Revolution, Egypt, as one of the developing countries, lacked many requirements that establish and consolidate democracy and good governance. In 2013, a road map was drawn; it includes the election of a new parliament after the previous parliament (Muslim Brotherhood Islamists Movements oriented and controlled parliament was dissolved by the decree of the Supreme Constitutional Court on the 14th of June 2012). After the appropriation of the new constitution in January 2014, as Article 245 thereof incorporated the annulment of the Shura Council; the legislative authority turned out to be restricted and vested to single-chamber framework, in particular the House of Representatives, here and after called (HOR). The term of enrollment in the HOR is five schedule years, beginning from the date of its first session. 2014 Constitution has laid down three different authorities for the new parliament; these include representation, legislation and oversight over the executive authority. Therefore, according to Egypt's 2014 Constitution, the Parliament, the HOR, must be representative of all citizens and constituencies; it must legislate and enact new rules and laws which guarantee the implementation of the economic and social development plan and the achievement of objectives and it must supervise and monitor the executive authority in performing its functions to facilitate the achievement of these objectives and sustaining peace and security of the Egyptian state.

Research Problem

This research tries to evaluate the Egyptian parliament's performance in assuming these various roles after the end of the first legislative session in August 2016. Debates arose about the efficiency, inefficiency or the level of efficiency of the parliament to perform its constitutional roles. Therefore, this research focuses on a major question, research problem; this question is: How do Egyptians evaluate the performance and hence, the role of HOR in promoting democracy and good governance? Other relevant questions also are handled, for example, what are the major authorities entitled to the HOR according to the 2014 constitution? Does the constitution state vividly and directly the authorities of the HOR? Can the HOR practice these authorities easily and efficiently? Does the HOR assume its roles independently from the executive authority? Do Egyptians feel and think that the HOR is really representative about the Egyptian population? Do Egyptians feel and think that the HOR fulfills its legislative and oversight functions? The research is trying to answer the major and the other relevant question to accurately evaluate the success or failure of the HOR in assuming its roles and fulfilling its obligations.

Research Significance

The way to democracy and good governance is full of difficulties and challenges which might render democratization and good governance impossible for developing countries. These challenges are mainly, if not exclusively, are endogenous challenges. Some of them are, the personalized way of rule, the absence of the effective institutions, regulations and policies, the absence of strategy, the inability of the state to progress and secure human rights, the inclination of people to pull back from political issues, and the outrageous centralization of force in the hands of few individuals, the state's control of the economy and the absence of transparency and accountability. These challenges require the existence of powerful and effective institutions. Therefore, this research will contribute to researches interested in understanding the role of parliaments as institutions to overcome the challenges and obstacles facing the developing

countries in promoting democracy and good governance. Practically, it tries to evaluate the performance of Egypt HOR in assuming its roles as a required institution to achieve the goal. Moreover, this research shows a developing country's experience, Egypt, as an example of countries which pursue democratization and good governance and how could Egypt be a beneficial examples for other developing countries.

LITERATURE

Democracy and good governance are essential requirements for all societies. Freedom of expression, unimpeded participation, effective and efficient political institutions are indispensable for sustainable development. Parliament is one of the essential elements of national governance. With its key tasks, representativeness, legislation and oversight, parliament can participate to establish, enhance and consolidate democracy and good governance. That is why a lot of studies were made about parliament's performance especially in developing countries. Some of these studies (Basedau, Matthias 2004, Eni Eja, Aloba 2014, Hudson, Alan, and ODI and Claire Wren 2007) talked about the ineffectiveness of parliaments in many developing countries referring this ineffectiveness to different reasons such as insufficient knowledge and skills, lack of institutional capacities and resources and the power of the executives which retain the parliament unable to supervise or even discuss any executive related issues. Other studies talked about the role of parliaments in promoting democracy and good governance in their countries and the challenges which face them to effectively assume their roles (Asia Report, The Role of Parliament in Pakistan's Democratic Transition 2013, Mollah, Awal Hossain, Good Governance in Bangladesh: Role of Government, Consolidating Democratic Governance in The SADAC Region, Mauritius 2008). Other studies talked about challenges that face parliaments to consolidate democracy and good governance and also identify recommendations to strengthen parliament to perform their functions well (Parliament's Role in the Development Agenda: two case studies, Zambia and Tanzania, Daniel Esem Gbervbie, Democracy, Democratic Institutions and Good Governance in Nigeria 2014, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), The Role of Parliament in Promoting Good Governance 2011, This study tries to delineate the contributions parliament can make to promote good governance and consolidate democracy in Africa.)

No doubt that the aforementioned studies enriched the researcher's knowledge and information about the role of parliaments in promoting democracy and good governance. Moreover, they identify the major roles that could be assumed by parliaments to achieve this goal. In addition, these studies shed some lights on the major challenges facing parliaments in developing countries and the suggested recommendations to overcome these challenges. These studies were also important for the researcher because the researcher used some of the variables used in these studies and add other variables to start his research. However, this study differs from the previously mentioned studies which were descriptive as it is an empirical study. This study doesn't talk about what the assumed roles of parliament (Egypt's HOR) to promote democracy and good governance are; nevertheless, it measures and evaluates, through questionnaires, the role of HOR in promoting democracy and good governance.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research adopts the quantitative analysis which assists to classify features, count them and construct statistical model in an attempt to explain what is observed. The study used two instruments: questionnaires and desk research. The questionnaires were addressed to different categories of respondents (600) (Parliamentarians, Academics, Students, Youth, Women and Minorities, etc.) from different governorates (Alexandria, Cairo, Mansoura, Port Said, Sharqyya and 6th of October City). The general objective of the questionnaire was to get primary data and collect more information on how

HOR interacts with the people it represents in their constituencies. Secondary data will be acquired through a desk research which depends vigorously on the utilization of accessible data and information from different nations enactments, government records, APRM nation reports, other writings and data accessible on the sites of different nations. Data analysis is performed in stages; the first step is preparatory, through which a descriptive analysis is done for each dimension under study to obtain mean, variance, and standard deviation for each dimension. Then, the relationship between dimensions will be tested through obtaining the correlation matrix. The researcher will use the statistical package “Statistical Program in the Social Science”, or SPSS to apply the above mentioned analysis. SPSS is considered as the most widely used and comprehensive, as well as the most popular package in statistics. The researcher is supposed to use descriptive analysis, Correlations, as well as fitting models.

Research Hypotheses

This research discusses a number of hypotheses which shed light on the relation between independent and dependent variables. The independent variables are Insufficient Representativeness, Insufficient Legislation, Insufficient Oversight and Insufficient Accountability of Egypt’s HOR and the dependent variable is the inability to promote democracy and good governance. These hypotheses states as follows:

- There is a significant relationship between insufficient Representation and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance.
- There is a significant relationship between insufficient legislation and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance.
- There is a significant relationship between insufficient oversight over the executive and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance
- There is a significant relationship between insufficient transparency and accessibility of HOR and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance.
- There is a significant relationship between insufficient accountability and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance.

Research Model

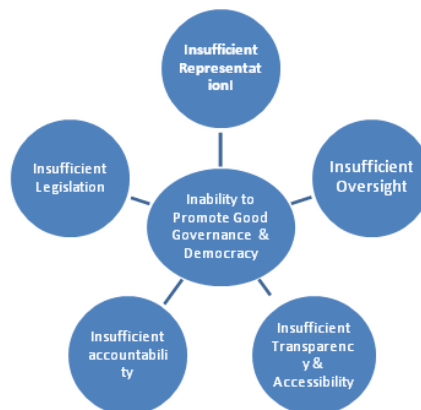


Figure 1

Research Type

This research is an applied research. Applied research is intended to tackle useful issues of the current world, as opposed to obtain information for learning's purpose. The objective of applied research is to enhance the human conditions. It concentrates on examination and taking care of social and genuine issues. Applied research is an instrument pursuing to solve practical problems. Applied research can be further classified as problem oriented and problem solving research. In our context, this research, as an applied research, contributes to improve political conditions of Egyptians through assuming its identified roles and authorities in Egypt 2014 constitution.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

As previously mentioned, this study tries to evaluate the performance of HOR after the end of the first legislative session by the end of 2016. The study mainly depends on questionnaires addressed to various participants using a group of variables (independent and dependent) based on the aforementioned hypotheses. The independent variables are Insufficient Representation, Insufficient legislation, insufficient oversight, insufficient transparency and accessibility and insufficient accountability while the dependent variable is Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance. This questionnaire is divided into six partitions; each partition includes a group of questions related to the aforementioned variables. Each of these questions has multiple choices; each of these choices is evaluated as follows: Very Good=1, Good=2, Neutral =3, Poor=4 and Very Poor=5. Here the researcher hypothesizes that there is a significant relationship between the insufficiency of Representation, insufficiency of legislation, insufficiency of oversight, insufficiency of transparency and accessibility and insufficiency of accountability with the inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance in Egypt.

All data collected are quantitative data. So, the researcher will use measures of central tendency and dispersion to describe the dimensions under study. The "Mean" is a measure of central tendency; which can be defined as a single value that attempts to describe a set of data by identifying the central position within that set of data. The mean (often called the average) is the most likely used measure of central tendency.¹ As for measures of dispersion, they express quantitatively the degree of variation or dispersion of values in a population or in a sample. Along with measures of central tendency, measures of dispersion are widely used in practice as descriptive statistics. Some measures of dispersion are the variance and standard deviation.

Through the following section, the mean, variance, as well as the standard deviation of the dimensions under study is presented in table 1.1, where it can be shown that the mean of insufficient representativeness, legislation, oversight, transparency, accountability and inability to promote democracy & good governance 18.4800, 14.8400, 19.6100, 15.5500, 15.9200 and 20.0233 respectively. Also, the variance for the latter mentioned variables is 14.874, 10.272, 16.766, 8.181, 9.429 and 11.338

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Type of Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Representativeness	600	Dependent	7.00	25.00	18.4800	3.85673	14.874
Legislation	600	Dependent	4.00	20.00	14.8400	3.20492	10.272
Oversight	600	Dependent	8.00	25.00	19.6100	4.09461	16.766

¹ Weisberg, H. F. (1992), "Central Tendency and Variability", Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, ISBN 0-8039-4007-6

Table 1: Contd.,							
Transparency	600	Dependent	8.00	20.00	15.5500	2.86027	8.181
Accountability	600	Dependent	7.00	20.00	15.9200	3.07072	9.429
Democracy&GoodGovernance	600	Independent	8.00	25.00	20.0233	3.36725	11.338
Valid N (list wise)	600						

Correlation and Regression Analysis

Insufficient Representation

The first hypothesis states that there is a significant relationship between insufficient Representation and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance. The sufficient Representation of individuals and their interests is the premise of every parliamentary framework. In the greater part of its capacities, the authenticity of parliament and its individuals rest upon a focal claim: that parliament regulates political portrayal in the public eye. According to 2014 Constitution, the Egyptian HOR, must be representative of the population, assume the legislative role and practice the supervisory function over the executive authority and its different bodies. First, concerning Insufficient Representation, Art (102) of the Constitution states that the HOR composes of no less than four hundred and fifty members elected by direct secret public ballot and that the president has the right to appoint no greater than 5% of the members. In addition, Art (102) stated that the electoral system and division of electoral constituencies shall be defined by law in a manner which observes fair and sufficient Representation of the population and governorates and equitable Insufficient Representation of voters. Besides, Art (244) and (245) assures the sufficient Representation of workers, farmers, youth, Christians, persons with disability and Egyptians living abroad. Although a required sufficient Representation is clearly stated in the 2014 constitution, the answers of participants showed that the HOR didn't fulfill this requirement. The following table will clarify this.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics Average % : (Insufficient Representation)						
	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How easy is it for a person of average means to be elected to parliament?	100%	10	16	29	26	19
How representative of youth, women and minorities is the composition of parliament?	100%	4	9	33	30	24
How representative of political parties is the composition of parliament?	100%	2	5	29	36	28
How adequate are arrangements for ensuring that opposition and minority parties nor groups and their members can effectively contribute to the work of parliament?	100%	2	7	18	39	34
How effective is parliament as a forum for debate on questions of public concern?	100%	2	8	25	38	27
Average % of Insufficient Representation	100%	4%	9%	26.8%	33.8%	26.8%
		13 %		26.8%	60.6%	

This table shows that about 60.6% of the participants consider that the HOR poorly represents the Egyptian population while 13% considers it represents the population well and about 26.8 are neutral. This shows that HOR lacks the representative ability to express the public opinion and hence seems to be far away from public concerns and affairs. As

mentioned before, sufficient Representation is essential for parliaments to promote democracy and good governance. Since HOR lacks the sufficient representation, this will lead to its inability to assume its role in this concern. Therefore, we can say that there is a strong correlation between insufficient Representation and inability to promote democracy and good governance. the following table shows the significant relationship between insufficient Representation and inability to promote democracy and good governance.

Table 3: Correlations

		Insufficient Representation	Inability to Promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Representation	Pearson Correlation	(A)1	(B).660**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	600	600
Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	(C).660**	(D)1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	600	600

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

- Correlation of Insufficient Representation with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for insufficient Representation ($n=600$).
- Correlation of Insufficient Representation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.660$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Insufficient Representation Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.660$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($n=600$).

The important cells are either B or C. (Cells B and C are identical, because they include information about the same pair of variables.) Cells B and C contain the correlation coefficient for the correlation between Insufficient Representation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance, its p-value, and the number of complete pairwise observations that the calculation was based on.² The correlations in the main diagonal (cells A and D) are all equal to 1. This is because a variable is always perfectly correlated with itself. Notice, that the sample sizes are equal in cell A and cell D ($n=600$). In cell B (repeated in cell C), we can see that the Pearson correlation coefficient for Insufficient Representation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance (.660**), which is significant ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test), based on (600) complete observations. Therefore we can deduce that:

- Insufficient Representation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance have a statistically significant linear relationship ($p < .001$).
- The direction of the relationship is positive (i.e., Insufficient Representation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance are positively correlated), meaning that these variables tend to increase together (i.e., greater Insufficient Representation is associated with greater Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance).

² For all following correlations boxes We consider B or C is important (Cells B and C are identical, because they include information about the same pair of variables.) Cells B and C contain the correlation coefficient for the correlation between

Legislation

According to Egypt's Constitution, Art (101), the House of Representatives (HOR) is entrusted with the authority to enact legislations and approve the general policy of the State, the general plan of economic and social development and the State budget. The second hypothesis states that there is a significant relationship between insufficient legislation and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance. In the traditional sense, the key function of parliament is to roll out new laws and improve or move forward old laws. This is the motivation behind why the parliament is otherwise called the lawmaking body. In any case, the capacity of enactment of parliament requires both ability and participation. As it were, successful enactment stands on two columns: a) Parliamentarians need the required expertise and endorsement to make viable and reasonable laws and b) There must a minimum required level of synergy inside the parliament. As a matter of actuality laws must be productive and successful. Most laws are composed of government divisions furthermore, brought into the parliament by government officials.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics Average %: (Insufficient Legislation)						
	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How satisfactory are the procedures for subjecting draft legislation to full and open debate in parliament?	100%	2	2	40	28	28
How systematic and transparent are the procedures for consultation with relevant groups and interests in the course of legislation?	100%	3	7	25	33	32
How adequate are the opportunities for individual members to introduce draft legislation?	100%	3	6	42	32	17
How effective is parliament in ensuring that legislation enacted is clear, concise and intelligible?	100%	1	9	36	29	25
Average % of Legislation	100%	2.25%	6%	35.75%	30.5%	25.5%
		8.25%		35.75%	56%	

This table shows that about 56% of the participants consider that the HOR has a poor legislative capacity as during the first session, the HOR was able only to legislate two laws, the Law of Civil society Organizations and the Law of Civil Service, while, 8.25% considers it has a good legislative capacity and about 35.75% are neutral. This shows that HOR lacks the legislative ability to legislate and enact society required laws. As mentioned before, sufficient Legislation is essential for parliaments to promote democracy and good governance. Since HOR lacks the sufficient Legislation, this will lead to its inability to assume its role in this concern. Therefore, we can say that there is a strong correlation between Insufficient Legislation and inability to promote democracy and good governance. The following correlation table shows the significant relationship between insufficient Legislation and inability to promote democracy and good governance.

Table 5: Correlations

		Insufficient Legislation	Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Legislation	Pearson Correlation	(A) 1	(B) .736**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	600	600
Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	(C) .736**	(D) 1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	

Governance	N	600	600
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

- Correlation of Insufficient Legislation with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Insufficient Legislation ($n=600$).
- Correlation of Insufficient Legislation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.736$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Insufficient Legislation Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.736$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($n=600$).

The correlations in the main diagonal (cells A and D) are all equal to 1. This is because a variable is always perfectly correlated with itself. Notice, that the sample sizes are equal in cell A and cell D ($n=600$). In cell B (repeated in cell C), we can see that the Pearson correlation coefficient for Insufficient Legislation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance (.736**), which is significant ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test), based on (600) complete observations. Therefore we can deduce that:

- Insufficient Legislation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance have a statistically significant linear relationship ($p < .001$).
- The direction of the relationship is positive (i.e., Insufficient Legislation and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance are positively correlated), meaning that these variables tend to increase together (i.e., greater Insufficient Legislation is associated with greater Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance).

Oversight

The parliamentary oversight capacity is one of the foundations of democratic government. The third hypothesis states that there is a significant relationship between insufficient parliamentary oversight over the executive authority (mainly the government) and inability of the HOR to promote democracy and good governance. Oversight is a method for considering the official responsible for its activities and for guaranteeing that it actualizes strategies as per the laws and financial plan approved by the parliament. The strong observing of the official by the parliament is an indicator of good governance. Other than the parliament's authoritative capacity, it is through oversight that the parliament can guarantee a balance of powers and declare its part as the shield of individuals' interests. The issue of supervising the Executive is a key for handling wrongdoing by the Executive branch. The legislature or official actualizes the laws and different choices of the parliament. All things considered, parliament ought to participate with the Executive as well as monitors the last's activities. The parliament is the main state authority that can consider the administration responsible by hearings and councils of request.

According to Egypt's Constitution 2014, Art (101), the HOR is vested with the authority to legislate and enact of new laws or modify and amend previous laws. Besides, it has to approve or disapprove the general policies of the state, the general economic and social development plan and the state's budget. Third, it exercises oversight over the actions of the executive power and this is stated in Art (129) to Art (136) which assure the supervisory functions of the HOR. These

articles includes the authority of the HOR to withdraw confidence from the prime minister, ministers and their deputies, direct an interrogation to them to hold them responsible for issues related to their respective authorities, request the discussion of a public issue for the purpose of seeking a clarification on the government's policy relating to such issue. Moreover, it submits an urgent statement to them concerning urgent issues of public importance and form a special fact finding committee to discover actualities on an open matter or review the exercises of a regulatory body.

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics Average %: (Insufficient Oversight)

	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How rigorous and systematic are the procedures whereby members can question the executive and secure adequate information from it?	100%	2	4	27	24	43
How effective are specialist committees in carrying out their oversight function?	100%	1	4	22	37	36
How well is parliament able to influence and scrutinize the national budget, through all its stages?	100%	3	6	30	25	36
How far is parliament able to hold non-elected public bodies to account?	100%	2	4	28	28	38
How adequate are the research, information and other facilities and expertise of professional staff to support members, individually and collectively, in the effective performance of their duties?	100%	2	5	34	34	25
Average % of Oversight	100%	2%	4.6%	28.2%	29.6%	35.6%
		6.6 %		28.2%	65.2%	

This table shows that about 65.2% of the participants consider that the HOR is weak towards the executive authority; while, 6.6% considers it is a powerful and about 28.2% are neutral. This shows that HOR lacks the oversight capacity required to monitor and guarantee the executive's commitment to legislations and the enacted laws. As mentioned before, sufficient oversight over the executive is essential for parliaments to promote democracy and good governance. Since HOR lacks the sufficient oversight, this will lead to its inability to assume its role in this concern. Therefore, we can say that there is a strong correlation between insufficient oversight and inability to promote democracy and good governance. The following correlation table shows that there is a significant relationship between insufficient oversight and inability to promote democracy and good governance.

Table 7: Correlations

		Insufficient Oversight	Inability to Promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Oversight	Pearson Correlation	(A)1	(C).825**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	600	600
Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	(B).825**	(D)1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	600	600

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

- Correlation of Insufficient oversight with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Insufficient oversight ($n=600$).

- Correlation of Insufficient Oversight and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.825$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Insufficient Oversight and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.825$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($n=600$).

The correlations in the main diagonal (cells A and D) are all equal to 1. This is because a variable is always perfectly correlated with itself. Notice, that the sample sizes are equal in cell A and cell D ($n=600$). In cell B (repeated in cell C), we can see that the Pearson correlation coefficient for Insufficient Oversight and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance (736**), which is significant ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test), based on (600) complete observations. Therefore we can deduce that:

- Insufficient Oversight and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance have a statistically significant linear relationship ($p < .001$).
- The direction of the relationship is positive (i.e., Insufficient Oversight and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance are positively correlated), meaning that these variables tend to increase together (i.e., greater Insufficient Oversight is associated with greater Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance).

Transparency and Accessibility

Parliaments are, as a matter of first importance, political institutions that are made to guarantee the viewpoints of citizens are reflected in the work of the legislature. To meet this, a parliament must be in steady contact with those citizens. Some portion of that engagement includes open conferences, open engagement and an exchange between parliaments, mass media and citizens. Yet, since all societies request more prominent access to data, parliaments must be straightforward and transparent. Citizens must be able to effectively get to data, information and records identified with the work of their representatives and the parliament. For as critical as the utilization of such data is the observation that the parliament is open and keen to give data.

According to Egypt's Constitution, Art (120), the sessions of the House of Representatives shall be held in public. Transparency and accessibility to the HOR is a must for attaining and maintaining democracy and good governance. How the HOR allows mass media and the public to be informed about the proceedings, legislation process, hearing sessions and the procedures adopted by its committees to reach decisions concerning public issues, represents a strong indicator of transparency. Moreover, the involvement of the youth and electors to express their views directly to their representatives and the means and mechanisms through which these views are expressed is clear indicator of accessibility to the HOR. In addition, the degree of responsiveness to the electors' demands fairly and transparently is a vital issue in this context. The following table will clarify the replies of the participants concerning transparency and accessibility of the HOR.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics Average % : (Insufficient Transparency and Accessibility)

	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How open and accessible to the media and the public are the proceedings of	100%	0	9	36	25	30

parliament and its committees?						
How extensive and successful are attempts to interest young people in the work of parliament?	100%	1	4	24	36	35
How adequate are the opportunities for electors to express their views and concerns directly to their representatives, regardless of party affiliation?	100%	0	3	36	38	23
How quick and responsive is the parliament about fulfilling the electors' demands?	100%	0	6	24	36	34
Average %	100%	0.25%	5.5%	30%	33.75%	30.5%
% of Transparency and Accessibility	5.75%			30%	64.25%	

This table shows that about 64.25% of the participants consider that the HOR lacks transparency and accessibility; while, 5.75% considers it is a powerful and about 30% are neutral. Those who said that the HOR lacks the required transparency and accessibility justified their opinions by saying that although it is stated in the constitution that the HOR's sessions will be held in public, the HOR discarded the constitution and declared that it will hold secret sessions. Although it is stated, according to Art (120), that The House may hold a secret session at the request of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the House, or at least twenty of the House members, by the majority of its members, the House shall decide whether the discussion in question is to be conducted in a public or a secret session concerning a certain issue, the HOR generalized the exception and made the exception a general rule by holding all sessions secretly. As mentioned before, sufficient transparency and accessibility is essential for parliaments to promote democracy and good governance. Since HOR lacks the sufficient transparency and accessibility, this will lead to its inability to assume its role in this concern. Therefore, we can say that there is a strong correlation between insufficient transparency and accessibility and inability to promote democracy and good governance. The following correlation table shows that there is a significant relationship between insufficient transparency and accessibility and inability to promote democracy and good governance.

Table 9: Correlations

		Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility	Inability to Promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility	Pearson Correlation	(A) 1	(C) .668**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	600	600
Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	(B) .668**	(D) 1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	600	600
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

- Correlation of Insufficient Accountability with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Insufficient oversight ($n=600$).
- Correlation of Insufficient Accountability and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.668$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.668$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.

- Correlation of Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($n=600$).

The correlations in the main diagonal (cells A and D) are all equal to 1. This is because a variable is always perfectly correlated with itself. Notice, that the sample sizes are equal in cell A and cell D ($n=600$). In cell B (repeated in cell C), we can see that the Pearson correlation coefficient for Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance (0.668), which is significant ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test), based on (600) complete observations. Therefore we can deduce that:

- Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance have a statistically significant linear relationship ($p < .001$).
- The direction of the relationship is positive (i.e., Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance are positively correlated), meaning that these variables tend to increase together (i.e., greater Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility is associated with greater Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance).

Accountability

Accountability is the commitment of parliaments to account for their actions, assume responsibility for them, and to disclose the results in a transparent manner. Moreover, Accountability encompasses the responsibility of representatives to inform their constituents about their performance in office, the commitment to the constituents' demands and their achievements, the commitment to ethical conduct and independence in performing their functions. The important role that parliamentarians are preparing to monitor and hold accountable the government opens up questions about monitoring the performance of the MPs themselves under the dome and how to evaluate the role of each member, in order to ensure the positive role of the deputy and provide him with a real service. The question here is: are the constituents able to hold their representative accountable for their actions?

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics Average %: (Insufficient Accountability)

	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How systematic are arrangements for members to report to their constituents about their performance in office?	100%	1	1	25	32	40
How effective is the electoral system in ensuring the accountability of parliament, individually and collectively, to the electorate?	100%	0	7	25	36	32
How effective is the system for ensuring the observance of agreed codes of conduct by members?	100%	2	1	36	32	30
How adequate is the oversight on the financial aspect of members to ensure that members preserve independence in the performance of their duties?	100%	1	7	22	32	38
Average %	100%	1%	4%	27%	33%	35%
% of Accountability		5%		27%	68%	

This table shows that about 68% of the participants consider that the degree of accountability of the HOR constituents is weak; while, 5% considers it is a powerful and about 27% are neutral. This shows that the constituents lack the power to hold their representatives accountable for their deeds and actions which free the hands of these representatives to act in accordance to their own interests. As mentioned before, sufficient accountability over the representatives is essential for parliaments to promote democracy and good governance. Since this accountability is missing to a large extent, there is a big doubt about effective performance of HOR. Therefore, we can say that there is a strong correlation between insufficient accountability and inability to promote democracy and good governance. The following correlation table shows that there is a significant relationship between insufficient accountability and inability to promote democracy and good governance.

Table 11: Correlations

		Insufficient Accountability	Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Accountability	Pearson Correlation	(A)1	(B).639**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	600	600
Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	(C).639**	(D)1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	600	600

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

- Correlation of Insufficient Accountability with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Insufficient oversight ($n=600$).
- Correlation of Insufficient Accountability and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.639$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($r=0.639$), based on $n=600$ observations with pairwise non-missing values.
- Correlation of Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance with itself ($r=1$), and the number of non-missing observations for Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance ($n=600$).

The correlations in the main diagonal (cells A and D) are all equal to 1. This is because a variable is always perfectly correlated with itself. Notice, that the sample sizes are equal in cell A and cell D ($n=600$). In cell B (repeated in cell C), we can see that the Pearson correlation coefficient for Insufficient Accountability and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance (0.639), which is significant ($p < .001$ for a two-tailed test), based on (600) complete observations. Therefore we can deduce that:

- Insufficient Transparency & Accessibility and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance have a statistically significant linear relationship ($p < .001$).
- The direction of the relationship is positive (i.e., Insufficient Accountability and Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance are positively correlated), meaning that these variables tend to increase together (i.e., greater Insufficient Accountability is associated with greater Inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance).

Inability to Promote Democracy and Good Governance

Inability to promote Democracy and Good Governance is the dependent variable which is an outcome of the existence of the previous five independent variables. Democracy and good governance, as previously mentioned, is an outcome of a system based on checks and balances between the three authorities in any given society, the legislative (Parliament), the executive and the judicial. The parliament as a vital arm of the state has a critical part in advancing and ensuring democracy and good governance consequently building up not just the important necessary checks and balances, but also creating standards and benchmarks for institutions of democracy and good governance. the question in this context arises as follows: can the HOR promote democracy and good governance in Egypt? The following table answers clearly this question.

Table 12: Descriptive Statistics Average %: (Inability to Promote Democracy and Good Governance)

	%	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Poor	Very Poor
How adequately does the composition of parliament represent the diversity of political opinion in the country?	100%	1	6	30	30	33
How careful is parliament in ensuring that Oversight enacted is consistent with the constitution and the human rights of the population?	100%	1	6	40	18	35
How far is parliament autonomous in practice from the executive, e.g. through control over its own budget, agenda, timetable, personnel, etc.?	100%	0	10	15	39	36
How much opportunity do citizens have for direct involvement in Oversight?	100%	0.9	2.5	15	33.3	48.3
How much is the parliament's concern about investigating public satisfaction on its performance?		0.8	2.5	21.7	38.3	36.7
Average %	100%	0.74%	5.4%	24.34%	31.72%	37.8%
Inability to promote Democracy and Good Governance		6.14%		24.34%	69.52%	

This table shows that about 69.52% of the participants consider that the HOR isn't able to promote democracy and good governance; while, 6.14% considers it is and about 27% is neutral.

The following table will give an aggregate framework of the correlations of all independent variables and the dependent variable to facilitate understanding the multiple regression analysis.

Table 13: Correlations

		Insufficient Representation	Insufficient Legislation	Insufficient Oversight	Insufficient Transparency	Insufficient Accountability	Inability to Promote Democracy & Good Governance
Insufficient Representation	Pearson Correlation	1	.635**	.552**	.424**	.409**	.660**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600
Insufficient Legislation	Pearson Correlation	.635**	1	.692**	.549**	.510**	.736**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600
Insufficient Oversight	Pearson Correlation	.552**	.692**	1	.682**	.670**	.825**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600
Insufficient Transparency	Pearson Correlation	.424**	.549**	.682**	1	.717**	.668**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600
Insufficient Accountability	Pearson Correlation	.409**	.510**	.670**	.717**	1	.639**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600
Inability to Promote Democracy & Good Governance	Pearson Correlation	.660**	.736**	.825**	.668**	.639**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	600	600	600	600	600	600

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Multiple Regression Analysis

Table 14: Reliability Statistics

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.905	6

This table shows that the reliability of all variables exceeds 6. This means that all results related to all variables are reliable.

Table 15: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.880 ^a	.774	.772	1.60837

a. Predictors: (Constant), Accountability, Representativeness, Legislation, Transparency, Oversight

This table shows that 77.4% of independent variables impact the dependent variable. The remaining 33% which doesn't impact the independent variable may refer to other variables or issues which aren't considered by the researcher.

Table 16: ANOVA

	Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5255.088	5	1051.018	406.294	.000 ^b
	Residual	1536.585	594	2.587		
	Total	6791.673	599			

a. Dependent Variable: inability to promote Democracy & Good Governance

b. Predictors: (Constant), Accountability, Representativeness, Legislation, Transparency, Oversight

This table shows that the whole model is significant as it is less than 0.05.

Table 17: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.017	.417		7.233	.000
	Representativeness	.186	.023	.214	8.274	.000
	Legislation	.200	.032	.190	6.338	.000
	Oversight	.369	.027	.449	13.536	.000

	Transparency	.137	.036	.116	3.794	.000
	Accountability	.077	.033	.071	2.359	.019
a. Dependent Variable: inability to promote Democracy&GoodGovernance						

A multiple regression analysis was run to predict the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. The above shown tables clarify that there is a significant relationship ($00 < 0.05$) between Insufficient representation, insufficient legislation, insufficient oversight, insufficient transparency and accessibility, insufficient accountability (Independent Variables) and inability of HOR to promote democracy and good governance (Dependent Variable). Therefore, for all hypotheses, there is a significant relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable is proved and illustrated.

CONCLUSION

This study tries empirically to express how Egyptians evaluate the performance of the HOR and its role in promoting democracy and good governance. Although desk researches were made to evaluate this, the author rather preferred to contact directly with Egyptian through the distributed questionnaires. Democracy and good governance should be felt first by citizens and measurement of promoting democratization should be done through assessing their views. Analysis of citizens' opinions was done through the descriptive, frequencies, correlations and multiple regression analysis for all variables, independent and dependent variables. The independent variables are insufficient representation, insufficient legislation, insufficient oversight, insufficient transparency and accessibility, insufficient accountability, while the dependent variable is the inability to promote democracy and good governance. From the replies of the participants, it is clear that the HOR suffers from different deficiencies exemplified in independent variables which negatively affect its role in promoting democracy and good governance. A lot of criticisms are directed to the HOR concerning these deficiencies; however, the degree of HOR's responsiveness to these criticisms is very weak. Some of these criticisms are: The evaluation of the parties differed on the performance of the HOR in its first session. Some of them believe that it was interested in the legislative aspect at the expense of its supervisory function, which affected its relationship with the citizens in the street, lack of experience of many deputies behind the occurrence of some quarrels and out of text discussions, the lack of experience led to their inability to express objection in a parliamentary manner, absence of oversight role and attention to the legislative role largely due to lack of experience of members, acting as executors of the orders of the executive branch and carry the Parliament vehicle in the direction determined by the government, bad performance of the deputies themselves under the dome, and least but not last, the parliament has not performed its role in issuing extraordinary resolutions as a realistic shield in the face of many crises such as the dollar crisis, the corruption of wheat silos, and the Parliament has so far adopted the laws that the government sends and does not legislate and oblige the government to do so.

All of the above mentioned criticisms in addition to the results of the study put the HOR at a crossroad, either to assume its role and perform its functions well or lead democratic transition in Egypt to the abyss. All concerned parties or stakeholders must assist the HOR to assume its role in promoting and consolidating democracy and good governance in Egypt.

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